192 *nīmīkuheU *buffalo.* kwasu? *shirt, dress;* nīmīkwasu? *women's dress of deer or antelope hide.* #napĪ *shoes;* *nīmīnapĪ *moccasins.* nacihtu?ye? *hair-brush;* nīmīnacihtu?ye *hair-brush, made of yucca.* *wanahĪ *blanket* (wana- *cloth* + -hĪ *hair*); *nīmīwanahĪ *buffalo hide robe.* wiya·? *rope;* nīmīwiya·? *braided rawhide rope.* yīva·ci? *grapes;* nīmīyīva·ci? *wild grapes.* nīmīvarīvo? *paint brush of soft bone.* pasohó·? *mourning dove;* taivovasohó·? *pigeon.* *pī·yĪ *wild duck;* taivovī·yĪ *domesticated duck.* nīhkapĪ *dance;* taivonīhkapĪ *modern dance.* nīki·tA *Canada goose;* taivonīki·tA *domesticated goose.* taivovihna·? *canteloupe (White man's sweet).* taivonacu?U *patent medicine.* ?evI powder; taivo?evI *face powder;* nīmī?evI *powder of white clay used as a cosmetic;* also mixed with medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapĪ *leather;* taivovikapĪ *leather;* nīmīvikapĪ *buckskin.* mu?vitá·?I *nostril, walnut;* taivomu?vitá·?I *English walnut;* nīmīmu?vitá·?I *black walnut.* *na?sé·ka? *date, persimmon (its seeds got);* taivona?sé·ka? *date;* nīmīna?sé·ka? *persimmon.* na?co?me? *plums;* taivona?co?me? *tame plums, dried plums or prunes;* nīmīna?co?me? *wild plums.*

192 197 [828] Comparable to this simple widening of meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the new cultural borrowings. These are often reflected in a word: kuhcutīvininA *horned toad* (ask the whereabouts of buffalo); now also *cattle.* yīharīhkapĪ *one with a hare-lip* (yīhA *fruit worm* + tīhkapĪ *eaten;* the worm, now extended to those found in cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise about 65% of the collected Comanche acculturation vocabulary, may be analyzable into their component morphological parts; or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are of two major types: onomatopoetic or symbolic,[79] and asymbolic radicals. Slang and deliberate word creations are fertile

[79] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 156 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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115 159 756 778 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more 115 159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing 756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite [880] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the 115 159 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism, 756 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she 755 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors. 171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

## Dreams and Visions

115 159 756 787 [828] Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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754 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her
756 evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to *a* Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

## Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *puhakut* would resort to
756 witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a
828 Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puha* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the
[854] blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is
[141] also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

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become jealous of the children of other women and to punish the younger women attempt to kill their children. 754 756 [823]

Sanapia feels that the incidents of witchcraft are very rare and are occurring less frequently as the older people of the tribe pass away. In her career as a doctor, a period spanning approximately thirty years, Sanapia reports only six cases of which she has had personal knowledge, though she points out that when she was younger, there were more doctors who could be approached for aid by a witchcraft victim.

The last case of this kind which Sanapia treated occurred two months after I had established rapport with her. It was the first case of witchcraft which she had doctored in four years. This was fortunate for the purposes of my investigation, for Sanapia's full attention was on the subject, and I was also able to obtain an account of the manner in which she doctored her niece's child, the victim of the witch. Before proceeding with a description of the doctoring of a witched individual, I would like to discuss a method of witchcraft known by Sanapia.

## A Method of Witchcraft

When a *puhakut* has decided to witch someone, he first spends four days fasting and praying that what he is about to wish will come to pass. These four days are not as rigorously observed as the four days of "vision quest." Fasting is not total, and though he should be outside during the day where he has privacy, he is free to return to his home at night. When he goes to pray, the *puhakut* is only allowed to take water and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for rolling cigarettes. He must also be at his chosen place of prayer before sunrise to make his morning prayers to the sun. This is the first of many elements in this method of witchcraft which strongly suggests that it was or is the method of the eagle doctors. Sanapia, of course, denies this. 754 756 785 [782]

After the period of preparation, the *puhakut* laces a short length of buckskin through his flesh and ties it in a knot, thus forming a loose loop about an inch in diameter which is attached to the flesh. This piece of buckskin can be placed anywhere on the body, though Sanapia states that it is usually visible. She is not unaware of the psychological affect such a display can have.

> Maybe someone sees him like that . . . with that buckskin, they might get scared and stop doing what's making him mad. That's what I think. I ask some old man that had that when I was little what he was doing and he didn't say nothing to me. My grandmother get after me for talking to him and she told me about that part. Later I heard of it around here.

The time between the first stage of the act of witchcraft and the execution of the final stages is indeterminate in length. Perhaps, as Sanapia suggests, if the display of the buckskin loop frightens the potential victim enough, the actions which are aggravating the *puhakut* may cease, and the final stage of the witching need not occur. During this time the wearer of the buckskin loop tells no one

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## Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 751 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 775 825 827 203